

# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

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AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia.

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THE STANDARD.

THIRTYEIGHT ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

[CONCLUDED FROM LAST WEEK.]

THE PRESIDENT.—The next speaker I shall have the pleasure of introducing is one who, though for many years out of public sight (having lost his voice for a long period in advocating the rights of the oppressed), has never lost his interest in our glorious cause, which was among the foremost to espouse; and which was immensely indebted to his voice and pen, in the times that tried men's souls for the powerful impetus given to it at that period. I have no words to express the gratification I feel at his presence on this platform to-day, and I am sure you will be equally gratified to listen to his words (applause).

[Mr. WELD, on rising, was warmly received. He spoke for three-quarters of an hour, commanding and rewarding the close attention of the audience; but unfortunately we have no worthy report of his address. He dwelt at some length upon the life of John C. Calhoun, as illustrating the terrible effects, upon a model man in original moral structure, of the exercise of despotic power; showing how the great Southern leader, by this perversion of his nature, became one of the worst men known in American history.]

THE PRESIDENT.—The last speaker advertised in our programme is Wendell Phillips, of Boston (applause).

**Speech of Mr. Phillips.**

MR. PHILLIPS referred to the instance in which Mr. Weld had given, as exemplifying what has been the effect of the Northern and Southern mind alike of the great temptation of political and social life, and stated that one of the class-mates of Mr. Calhoun in Yale College assured him that when Calhoun left New Haven he went home with a deep anti-slavery purpose, with a fixed resolve to do what in lay to his native State from the curse of negro slavery.

The inconsistency to which allusion had been made culminated, he thought, in one act of his political life, which brought the otherwise unsullied private character of the distinguished South Carolinian to a level with the mob of his Northern compatriots, when, in urging the annexation of Texas to our country in a communication to the English government, he attempted to show that slavery helped and freedom hurt the colored man. He used the facts of the census of 1840 to show the great increase of colored insanity in the free States—facts which John Quincy Adams had brought to his individual notice—and instanced one case in Maine wherein all the colored inhabitants of a whole County were made the residents of one insane poor-house in a single town, and regarded as the inhabitants of that town, and yet, after that falsification was brought to his notice, this remorseless champion of a corrupt institution took that lying statement in his right hand to the basis of his argument to foreign nations. His case is but a fitting illustration of the influences under which the mind of this generation has come into the political arena. With such an education, he great struggle broke out. The South counted on its allies in her Northern enemy; one was hated of the negro—the other copperhead democratic sympathizer of the aristocracy of the South. She counted confidently on these allies, but found she had reckoned without her host. They were accustomed to stand on that platform, for the last ten years, if there could be a concatenation of circumstances which would bring into the anti-slavery school the rank and file of the Democracy, the victory for freedom would be as sure as the existence of God. The anti-slavery people claimed that they had in that war, and the ineradicable love which man has at the centre for the rights of his fellow-men (applause). When the war broke out, the first blow the South aimed at the Union, as if by a chemical explosion, crystallized that level of democracy into the anti-slavery mould, and from that hour to this the sheet-anchor of the Union, and while it holds future is certain. The only reason why this element did not grope at once to victory was because the statesmen who led it did not intend to conquer. Our statesmen were only ready for the shibboleth, freedom if necessary to save the Union—it was a momentary freedom, not freedom for itself and in every event. Under that sort of leadership we went to war. The Generals and the Cabinet meant no more than to play a part in the great drama of justice for which their hearts were not ready. Lucien Lemoine of an exhibition in Rome in which a great number of monkeys had been trained to take part in a play. They played their parts perfectly before an audience composed of the fashion, beauty and elegance of the city, but in the midst of the performance the Roman wag flung upon the stage a handful of peas, and immediately the actors were monkeys again. The statesmen who went to Washington in human attire, were determined to command for as long as possible, the South flung nuts among them in the temptation (laughter and applause). That epoch is ended. As in Cromwell's day they sloughed off such effects as Essex and Fairfax, we shall slough off Generals and statesmen, and never be successful till routine West Point and Salem Whigerry have been made to put on decent clothes, or been sent forth to private life, and those in their places who believe in absolute, uncompromising war. As had already been said, this war is not mean battle only; it was a war also of words, of purpose and of principle. Types wage war, and certain war as bullets. The war of peace is over, and the war of bullets has come. It will last, how long? Till the sites of Richmond and Charleston are sowed over with salt, as is hoped our Southern Generals would sow them (applause). We have no worth in taking Richmond, Savannah or Charleston, unless we sow their acres with salt, and the antiquity to doubt the locality on which they existed; because his idea of the war was this: the aristocracy of the South on the one hand, allied with the Copperhead politics of the North, against the minority of intelligent, virtuous, learned, democratic, freedom-loving men of the North. The proud man who hates his brother is our enemy, and the weaker seeking a living without working for it is our enemy (applause). Every honest man, asking for his share in the banks of the Ganges, or is enrolled in the army under Hooker; but never till that moment. Till that time union means a submission to the old Slaveocracy, as bitter and more relentless than ever. The majority never ruled. England didn't abolish slavery in the West Indies because nine out of ten wished it; out because the nine out of ten did not have strength enough to resist the one industrial and it is to be saved at all, by the uncompro-

mising, restless determination of one honest man in the ten, that at last liberty shall have its way (great applause). He believed, as had been said there by another, that, in spirit and purpose, this government means liberty, and that when this rebellion is finished this government will be one of liberty. His question to-day was not one of gratitude for the past, but it was, how shall this rebellion be finished? The minority should hurl themselves on the government, and demand every moment the uttermost duty from their leaders. He valued Hooker (applause), but he looked forward to the day when Hooker was to be brough off for a better man. He wanted not only able men and honest, but he wanted earnest men, to meet earnest men on the other side. He was sick of honest men—utterly disgusted with them. When the ship was being dashed against the rocks, it was poor consolation to be told the pilot was an honest man. He did not know, though he believed, that Butler or Fremont were great generals; but try them, and if they be not, let them go by the board.

Our friend, Mr. Purvis, spoke of the Secretary of State giving passports to colored men. How did William H. Seward give a passport to a colored man? I will tell you. When he took office, one of the New England Senators went to him, a note in his hand, and said, "I want a passport for a colored constituent in my town."

"Well, you can't have one," said Seward (it was before the month of June, 1861), "you can't have one."

"Why not?" said the questioner.

"Well, niggers don't have passports from this office."

"Indeed," said the Senator. "Do you mean to say that we endorse the Dred Scott decision?"

"Oh, no," said Seward. "I don't mean to say anything; I don't mean to say that we endorse it or that we deny it. All I mean to say is, that niggers don't get passports here."

"Oh, yes, they do," said the Senator; "we see that."

So he put on his hat to go up higher. But before he left, Mr. Seward turns upon him and says: "Why (with an expletive) did you tell me that this was a colored man? Why did you not say that you wanted a passport for John Smith?"

"I was just reading his note as I came in, and I should not have thought of concealing it. I did not suppose the fact had any significance."

"Well, he can't have a passport. That's all."

"Oh, yes, he will," was the reply.

"Sit down and write a letter, asking me for a blank passport."

The man did so and signed his name. Seward folded it up, put it on file as if for his defence, brought out a blank passport, and said, "Put as many niggers into it as you want to" (laughter).

That was in June, 1861. William H. Seward, acting out his natural—the monkey with the nut in his hand (laughing). Then came August. Then came the battles which made the North sore to vengeance. Then came a wave so high that it carried all such statesmen a whole arrow's flight ahead. And then Mr. Seward hastened to deck himself with the merit of giving this passport to colored men, and let the New York press boast of it through the Empire State.

Now, that is just the kind of men who will never do us to victory—never. The Halecks, the Sewards, the Blairs, the Chases follow their own ambition—strong minds, bad hearts, corrupt purposes, and all the means of this eventful hour turned away to serve them. Nor shall we have victory till the nation sends them so deep that political plummet will not reach them.

The army will do its duty; the people will do their duty. But to achieve successes which shall settle this question on a permanent basis, you want men like Butler, Fremont, Hunter, Hamilton, who mean that this Union shall mean union at any rate, and that if it does not mean union it shall not exist; who know no nation except one that secures liberty (applause). These are the men who are to shape the policy and guide the thunderbolts of the government. I believe there never will be a victory won having until the second General shall be sent home to San Francisco and the quicksilver mine.

An old adage says, "A fool is never a great fool till he has learned Latin." And so a man is never utterly incorrigible till he graduates at West Point (laughter). My policy is to step onward. This Society last met, the President has freed three million of slaves. That is a great success! But we are not warring with slaveholders, but with slavery; and Lincoln has just as much right to destroy slavery in Kentucky as he has to destroy slavery in Louisiana (applause).

Lincoln called Fremont to his right hand, and Hamilton to his left, and Butler to stand in front of him. To each one of these men he pledged, from his own lips, solemnly, repeatedly, employment immediately—so definitely that in one case he would not permit one of these generals even to quit Washington for six hours. No one of them has the baton of a command. No one of them can issue an order to a soldier. Why? Because Abraham Lincoln is not President of the United States. Because a Cabinet, with its own ends to attain, and a General-in-Chief loaded down with the whole mountain of West Point on his shoulders, presume to make conditions. The press is the mouse that is to gnaw the cable that binds the President of the United States. The press is to him, this remorseless champion of a corrupt institution took that lying statement in his right hand to the base of the Republic (applause). These are the men who are continually on these slides, but found she had reckoned without her host. They were accustomed to stand on that platform, for the last ten years, if there could be a concatenation of circumstances which would bring into the anti-slavery school the rank and file of the Democracy, the victory for freedom would be as sure as the existence of God. The anti-slavery people claimed that they had in that war, and the ineradicable love which man has at the centre for the rights of his fellow-men (applause).

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The meeting was then closed by singing the Doxology, "From all that dwell below the skies," and the assembly dispersed to meet in the evening at the Cooper Institute.

**MEETING AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE.**

On Tuesday evening, at 8 o'clock, the Society assembled in the Cooper Institute, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, President, in the chair. A large and highly intelligent audience was present.

The Hutchinson Family sang an appropriate song. Theodore Tilton was introduced as the first speaker, and warmly received.

**Speech of Theodore Tilton.**

MY FRIENDS—I bring to you the negro! Not the negro! You and I will not meet slavery in the same place, nor in the same way, in the same attitude as we have met it in the past. The times have changed.

Our attitude now toward this system

is the attitude of St. Margaret in Raphael's picture,

our feet are upon the Great Dragon, and the pain-

ful Whigerry have been made to put on decent

clothes, or been sent forth to private life, and those in their places who believe in absolute, uncompromising war. As had already been said, this war is not mean battle only; it was a war also of words, of purpose and of principle. Types wage war, and certain war as bullets. The war of peace is over, and the war of bullets has come. It will last, how long? Till the sites of Richmond and Charleston are sowed over with salt, as is hoped our Southern Generals would sow them (applause). We have no worth in taking Richmond, Savannah or Charleston, unless we sow their acres with salt, and the antiquity to doubt the locality on which they existed; because his idea of the war was this:

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*Correspondents will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.,*

*Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating to any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard," 48 Bremen Street, BREMENSTREET, NEW YORK.*

*Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "Publisher of the Anti-Slavery Standard," No. 48 Bremen Street, New York.*

**THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.**

The Thirtieth New ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION will be held in Boston on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, May 28th and 29th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A.M., of this month.

On the first day and evening (Thursday) the meetings of the Convention will be held at the Meeting-house (lower hall of the Tremont Temple). On Friday they will be held, day and evening, in the Tremont Temple.

Of the anti-slavery men and women, who attended the first New England Anti-Slavery Convention, held in Boston Hall in this city, in the year 1814, a goodly number yet remain, though many have "fallen asleep."

We, who are alive and remain to witness the moral coming of the Lord, in the wonderful events which from month to month are now occurring, and which afford such striking and sublime attestation to the truth of those principles which the early Abolitionists proclaimed, must not yet put off the harness, in the persuasion either that the work is done, or that others will do it.

We rejoice indeed that others have sprung up and come forward to labor with us, directly and indirectly, in the mighty work of first delivering a great people from the yoke of slavery, and then elevating them to the rights and privileges and honors of citizenship and of manhood.

But this will not excuse us from standing firmly at our posts as watchmen, and contending faithfully still with the mighty weapons of Truth which the wonder-working Providence of God has so greatly blessed in the past thirty years.

A great work yet remains for the Anti-Slavery Society, and people of the land to do, and, having put our hands to that work, we must not look back while a solitary slave remains in his chains.

Let, then, the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in New England assemble together once more in Annual Convention. It may be that they will never be under the necessity of holding another. Whether so or not, must depend solely upon the existence of slavery in the land, or otherwise, and upon the faithfulness with which the great principles of freedom and justice are now applied to the monstrous system of iniquity, which however severely wounded and however weakened, is struggling desperately for life and mastery.

Let the voices of all Abolitionists be now heard clear and distinct, giving no uncertain sound.

We cordially invite the friends of freedom in every section of the country to be present at the Convention.

By order of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society.

#### ABOLITIONISM AND CIVIL LIBERTY.

The Abolitionists from the time they began to be in this country have been required, by State and Church, to give an excuse for their being at all. They have been expected, on all hands, that they should make an apology for their existence. Of what were these fellows that were turning the world upside down and disturbing the comfortable calm into which American society had settled itself since the Era of Good Feeling had replaced the old horse Federal and Democratic hatreds, and especially after slavery had won its last hard-fought battle for the possession of Missouri? Why could not they be well enough alone, and not persist in irritating the South and annoying the North by their clamors about a system of labor with which they had no concern, and the wrongs of a race of men in which they had no part? They were simply intruding, impertinent and a nuisance. And as a nuisance has been held good law and order, up to a very recent time, to abate them summarily whenever the came in the way. But notwithstanding the unanimous of statesmen, divines, judges, merchants and mob these pestilent fellows never thought it worth the while to make the apology demanded of them. Rather, they only pointed at the slaves of the South and its objects; and we trust they will be able to exert such a moral influence upon their government as to compel it to keep international faith and manhood, and thus avert a conflict, the sufferings and horrors of which must be immeasurable.

Resolved, That while the spirit and conduct of the governing classes in England, since the breaking out of "The Slaveholders' Rebellion" until now, have been manifestly in sympathy with that rebellion—converting at the building and equipping, in their own ports, of piratical vessels to sweep American commerce from the ocean, in the rebel service, and in other ways evincing a purpose, so far as it dares, to provoke a war with this government, and give victory to the traitors who are seeking its destruction—we deem it due to the laboring classes of England in special, and to the people of that country in general, to express our heartfelt satisfaction and thankfulness in view of the very pregnant fact, that in every part of the kingdom, in public meetings assembled, they have enthusiastically responded to the Emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, and expressed their warmest sympathy with the loyal North and their strongest abhorrence of the rebellion, its cause, and its objects; and we trust they will be able to exert such a moral influence upon their government as to compel it to keep international faith and manhood, and thus avert a conflict, the sufferings and horrors of which must be immeasurable.

Resolved, That as the friends of liberty, of free institutions, and of universal Emancipation, this Society tenders its grateful acknowledgments to such noble Englishmen as John Bright, Richard Cobden, Wm. E. Forster, George Thompson, J. Stuart Mill, Professor Newman, Professor Cairnes, Rev. Nowman Hall, Gen. Perceval Thompson, and others, for their intelligent, discriminating, and powerful advocacy of the cause of American Republicanism as against the ruthless secessionists of the South; and especially after George Thompson, whose labors to serve our country, ever since the rebellion broke out, have been most indefatigable, disinterested, and efficient, in every part of the kingdom; and we trust it may be his blessed privilege and joy to see our country delivered from its great inequality, and to join with us in celebrating the most glorious jubilee earth has ever witnessed.

These resolutions were adopted unanimously.

The Society then adjourned, to meet in Philadelphia Dec. 3d.

W.M. LLOYD GARRISON, President.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Secretary pro tem.

DONATIONS

To American Anti-Slavery Society, May 13, 1861.

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society,	\$250.00
Gerrit Smith, Peterboro,	100.00
Wm. Gibbons Hopper, New York,	25.00
Thomas Garrett, Wilmington, Del.,	25.00
Phoebe H. Jones, Albany,	1.00
Sarah H. Marshall, New York,	5.00
Sarah H. Schram, Poughkeepsie,	1.00
G. Prince, New London, Ct.,	1.00
Mr. Oliver Johnson,	1.00
Perley King, Danvers, Mass.,	2.00
Hannah Cox, Longwood, Pa.,	1.00
Martha C. Wright, Auburn,	1.00
A friend,	1.00
Mr. Wilder,	1.00
George T. Downing, New York,	1.00
A friend,	1.00
"	1.00
Any Post, Rochester,	25.00
Marcus O. Fane,	6.00
Hannah J. Paine,	1.00
Joseph Carpenter,	25.00
Margaret Carpenter,	1.00
Mary Hale,	1.00
J. E. S. Jones,	30.00
Wm. Howland, Sherwood,	1.00
Dr. Hamilton, Rochester,	2.00
Mrs. La Vergne,	50.00
A friend,	1.00
S. A. Fairweather,	50.00
Mrs. Jenkins,	50.00
Mrs. Avery,	50.00
Mrs. Underhill,	50.00
Anna Shoemaker,	2.00
Martha Shoemaker,	1.00
Ann R. Bramhall,	1.00
Margaret Jones,	1.00
A. M. Powell,	1.00
Alfred H. Love, Philadelphia,	1.00
Isaac Mendenhall, Kennett, Pa.,	5.00
A. Kimber, Philadelphia,	1.00
Kate M. Post,	1.00
Elizabeth R. Post,	1.00
Collection at Church of the Puritans,	76.20

PLAIDES.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison,

Samuel May, Jr.,

J. Mc. Kim,

James K. Smith, New York,

O. Dyer, New London, Ct.,

Joseph and Mary Post,

Theodore T. Ovington,

John T. Sergeant,

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## Miscellaneous Department.

PHILADELPHIA, May 17th, 1863.  
To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I send you the following verses, which I find in *The Press* of this city, confident that you will gladly publish them in THE STANDARD. We who know so well, by long fellowship in anti-slavery labor, our beloved and honored conductor, can testify to their truthfulness.

WARRIOR JUSTICE.

DECEMBER, 1862.

Now that the day begins to dawn,  
We who have labored through the night,  
And watched the long eclipse of right,  
Must grieve the more that he is gone.

Vanished as in the earlier morn,  
The lofty longing Kings of old,  
And Prophets, who might not behold  
The Great Deliverance to be born.

Yet we believe that from their skies  
They bend in calm majestic forms,  
And through the earthquake and the storms  
They guard the cradle where it lies.

When he was with us here we know  
His faith was pure, his hand was strong,  
And sought such contact with the wrong  
As liveth in a downright blow.

And thus he kept his faith more pure,  
Than doth the chary careful saint,  
Who holds himself aloof from taint,  
On lofty pedestal secure.

His was the clear and steady thought,  
The perfect truth he fully knew,  
Claimed all God's possible as true,  
While in man's possible he wrought.

His was the old and simple plan:  
He had no scheme beyond the sense  
Of daily working Providence,  
That slowly moulds the world and man.

He mingled with the hate of wrong  
The heavenly charity that still  
Rain blessings on the good and ill—  
The charity that suffergood again.

And thence his life was peace; its breath  
So quiet none could count it strange,  
When fell the last and final change,  
And quietly he slept in death.

### THE CHURCH AND SLAVERY.

From The Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph.

In some remarks lately made on the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, it was observed that the Church and slavery could never get along well together. The New York Freeman Journal condemns our remarks, quotes St. Paul, and Church Councils, and says that we are ignorant of ecclesiastical history. The writer in *The Freeman* also observes that he does not wish for a controversy with us. As *The Freeman*, on this occasion, is mild, and uses no offensive language, we reply to his comments at some length.

We assure our contemporary that we, too, have no desire to enter into a controversy. It would be useless now, because the SUBJECT OF SLAVERY IS KNOWN. The first CANNON FIRED AT SUMTER SOUNDED ITS KNEEL. IT WOULD BE MUCH EASIER TO TAKE RICHMOND OR OPEN THE MISSISSIPPI THAN RESTORE SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES. THE THING IS DONE FOREVER.

But our contemporary suggests that we are not acquainted with ecclesiastical history, and that slavery and the Church have got along well together, and quotes St. Paul and certain Councils. Our contemporary has a right to entertain any opinion he pleases about our ignorance. His opinion is his own.

But without acrimony we can write on this subject of slavery. It must be discussed; there is no help for it—and while we accredit to those who are its advocates all liberty of speech, we hope that some license will be extended to us when we give our reasons on the other side. It is not in a fanatical spirit or a fanatical spirit, that we write, *but under the strong conviction that a great change is at hand in the political welfare of the country, and that it is of some consequence to Catholics to decide wisely what to take*. This cannot be done by crying out "ignorance," "abolition," but by friendly discussion.

Whether we like it or not, slavery is extinguished in the United States, and all that we have to do is to decide how we shall accommodate ourselves to "contingencies."

We have said, and we now repeat it, that slavery and the Catholic Church could never get along well together. The Church never tries to correct evils by revolutionary means. When she has not the legislative power in her hands she is patient, long-suffering, gentle. What she could not suppress she tolerated. But she found slavery little disposed to imitate her meekness. When the Slave Power predominates, religion is nominal. There is no life in it. It is the hard-working, laboring man who builds the church, the school-house at the orphan asylum, not the slaveholder, as a general rule. Religion flourishes in a slave State only in proportion to its intimacy with a free State, or as it is adjacent to it. There are more Catholics in the Cathedral congregation of this city than in North and South Carolina and Georgia! There are more Catholics in one of our second-rate congregations than in the whole State of Alabama! Louisiana ought to be a Catholic State, but it has never sent a Senator or Representative to Congress who identified himself with the Catholic cause, so far as we know. The slaveowners are not the zealous men of the Church in that State.

What help is Cuba, with all its riches, to the Catholic cause? The poorest Irish or German congregation in the free States does more for religion than Havana, if we can rely upon the representations of those who ought to know and whose character forbids deception. It appears to us, therefore, that slavery is not friendly to the Catholic faith—or to its charity and fervor when it happens to be professed. If for telling these plain truths any subscriber wishes to withdraw his patronage, we hope he will do so at once. And if for telling these truths the ladies of a community in a slave State choose to burn our paper again, they have our liberty, if that be of any consequence, to prove their animosity and piety by doing so. The time is near at hand when they will wish that they had been more tolerant to the expression of an opinion.

But, to our knowledge of ecclesiastical history: "No one ventures to doubt," says Balme, "that the Church exercised a powerful influence on the abolition of slavery. This is a truth too clear and evident to be questioned." \* \* \* It did all that was possible in favor of human liberty. If it did not advance more rapidly in the work, it was because it could not do so without compromising the undertaking, without creating serious obstacles to the desired emancipation. Such is the result at which we arrive when we have thoroughly examined the charges made against some proceedings of the Church. \* \* \*

That slavery endured for a long time in presence of the Church, is true; but it was always declining, and it only lasted as long as was necessary to realize the benefits without violence, without a shock, without compromising its universality and its continuance. These few words from the fifteenth chapter of Balme's incomparable work show the exact position occupied by the Church in reference to slavery. To say that she ever favored the system is a calumny. She proclaimed man's fraternity with each other, and their equality before God, and therefore, could not be the advocate of slavery.

With respect to the works of St. Paul, so often quoted, we find full justification of our position. He writes to Philemon, commanding his faith and charity, and says: "Wherefore, though I might have much confidence in Christ Jesus to command thee that which is to thy purpose, for clarity's sake I rather beseech, thou being such an one, as far as the aged and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ; I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my chains—whom I have sent back to thee. And do thou receive him as my own bowls. Not now as a servant, but instead of a servant a most dear brother, especially to me, who much more to thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord?"

Any one who can find any thing in this in favor of slavery must have piercing optics. Would St. Paul have sent him back to a heathen master—or one who would have the power and the will to dismiss him—to sell his wife and children into slavery? The thought is not to be entertained of the blessed apostle.

If a fugitive slave in this country was to be sent back to some master in Mississippi or Texas by a Catholic Bishop of our days, bearing such an epistle as the above, how would the master mock and the world laugh at the Bishop! What a joke it would be considered in the South!

But what did the Popes think of slavery? This will probably throw some light on ecclesiastical history. Part III., 1537, and Urban VIII., in 1639, condemned in the strongest terms the crime of reducing men to slavery, separating them from their wives and children, or in any manner depriving them of their liberty, or upon any pretext to pretest or teach that it is lawful. Pius II., 1459, also denounces the system in the strongest terms. Gregory XVI., who, in his Apostolic Letter of December 3, 1839, refers to the foregoing, and uses this vehement language on the same subject: "Wherefore we, desiring to turn away so great a reproach as this from all the bound-

aries of Christians, and the whole matter being maturely weighed, certain Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, our venerable brethren, being also called into Council, treading in the footsteps of our predecessors with Apostolic authority, do vehemently admonish and adjure in the Lord, all believers in Christ, that no one hereafter may dare, unjustly, to molest Indians, negroes or other men of this sort, or to spoil them of their goods or reduce them to slavery. We, therefore, with Apostolic authority do reprobate all the aforesaid actions as utterly unworthy of the Christian name; and by the same Apostolic authority do strictly prohibit and interdict that any ecclesiastic or lay person shall presume to defend that very trade in negroes as *lawful under any pretense or studied excuse*, or otherwise to preach, or in any manner, publicly or privately, to teach contrary to those things which we have charged in this, our Apostolic Letter."

This is tolerably showy language. Its import, we think, is clear enough to any one who has a human mind. There can be "no pretext or studied excuse," says the good and great Pontiff. Are Catholics afraid or unwilling to read the admonition of the Vicar of Jesus Christ?

But it will be said that Gregory XVI. alluded to the foreign slave trade! This, however, is a pretext, and has not even the dignity of a "studied excuse." We have a word to say on the point.

Shortly before the appearance of this Apostolic letter, a religious order in the United States, by their close communication with Rome, received information of its existence and approaching publication. With more wit than piety, the Superiors of that order collected together a large number of their slaves and sold them to a Southern gentleman—we will call him so—who hurried them into Louisiana, and they were scattered over the South without reference to their relationship one to another.

The whole Catholic community was shocked at the occurrence. Pope Gregory's letter appeared soon after, and it did not moderate the feeling of indignation. When the fact was known in Rome, such was the emotion felt by his Holiness, that the Superiors, on whom the responsibility rested, were ordered forthwith to proceed to the Eternal City, and they did not return for years. Why they were detained it is unnecessary to discuss.

This shows that slavery, in every shape, is condemned and repudiated by the Church. In the meantime she did nothing violent. She only spoke the solemn words of admonition. Events have however ripened on—the Church would not or could not do the politicians have done. The door is now wide open without any agency of Catholics, and those who wish to despise the venerable Pontiffs and be the jailors of their fellow-men may endeavor to close and lock and bolt it. We take no part in any such proceeding.

### THE AFRICAN TRIBES.

[Extracts from Mr. Brace's work on Ethnology, now in press with Scribner.]

With reference to the general physical divisions of South Africa, Livingstone gives it as his opinion that there are *five* longitudinal bands of color running up the Southern continent.

Those on the seaboard, both east and west, are very black, "then two bands of lighter color lie about 300 miles from each coast, of which the western one, bending round, embraces the Kalahari desert and the Bechuanas; and then the central basin is very dark again."

This can be only a very general appearance, as numerous exceptions are found to it; the Bushmen of lighter color, being scattered around in the centre of the continent, and the Makololo, who are of light yellow complexion, having migrated to the central regions. All travellers agree that the color of the Africans, to a certain degree, changes according to heat and dampness; some tribes (for instance the Batako) being black or lighter-colored, as they are exposed in greater or less degree to these two influences. The lines of language—as, for instance, those of the Kaffir family—cut across the distinctions of color, and one undoubted race may embrace persons of black and white with unmixed blood of a light copper-color.

The Semitic races—*the Arab and Berber and Abyssinian*—vary endlessly in complexion. Some are reported to be jet-black; and the Berbers, as shown by Dr. Barth, are sometimes almost black, and at others fair as North Europeans. The Abyssinians range from black to copper-color, according to locality.

What is called the "negro type"—that is, the low type of the coast of Guinea—is comparatively the strongest in the Celtic race. The negro features are combined in Africa in every possible variety. As Pritchard has shown, and as may be seen by referring to this treatise, there are jet black negroes with wavy hair but noble Aryan features—such as the Iolos, Mandingoes, Guleri, and others; or black people with frizzed and even straight hair and regular features, such as the Bishari and Danakil, and some of the Fellath; or blacks with flowing hair in ringlets, as the Somalii and the tribes near the Zambesi; or light-brown people with woolly hair and European forms and face, as some of the Kaffirs; or light-brown with negro features, as many east of Angora; or brown with the lowest negro type and hair in tufts, as the Hottentots.

M. d'Abbadie—an eminent savant—who has had eleven years of experience among the races of East Africa, states as his conclusion—the more trustworthy as opposed to his previous opinion—that color is in the main the result of food and climate. Our usual classification and entire separation of the negro from the white, he thinks, are due to our common seeing the extremes of the two types—*the Guinea negro and European white*—in contrast. This scaffolding of classification, he says, fell when he first saw certain tribes—the Doggs and others—in Eastern Africa, and now, with all his experience, if he were to choose among individuals in *Ethiopia* (excluding all mixture of races), it would be impossible to tell which was the negro and which was the white.

His manner, in this his first attempt at public speaking, showed complete self-possession and self-confidence. He narrated the prominent circumstances of his enforced return from Boston, his arrival at Savannah, and a portion of his subsequent adventures, going into such minuteness of detail respecting the earlier years, and the conversations which occurred with his successive masters, that no time remained to describe the later ones.

Neither his escape just made, nor his former one, was occasioned by any special ill-treatment. He felt that no man had the right to claim ownership over him. His narrative gave the impression that his ordinary treatment was as good, and his position as favorable as slaves ever experience. But these things were not sufficient to content him, without freedom.

On arriving at Savannah, he was put in prison, and had a severe sickness there. This, he supposed, at first prevented his receiving the severe punishment which a recaptured fugitive naturally expects. Before his recovery, a rumor reached the South that the Northern people were reporting that he had been whipped to death. In fact, he was not whipped at all, but was sold as soon as he was in condition to work, at his trade of bricklayer.

In the twelve years that have passed since his return to Savannah, he has had several changes of masters. It was amusing to hear of the unpleasant treatises of some of these on learning that the slave whom they had bought was that eminent one who "had been to Boston." In fact, he was not whipped at all, but was sold as soon as he was in condition to work.

There is nothing in the great source from which evidence of difference and of unity among different peoples has been sought in this treatise—namely, Language—to prove the negro radically different from the other families of man or even mentally inferior to them.

A large portion of the brown and black tribes of Northern Africa, as has been shown, belong to the same family as that which first originated commerce, which invented the alphabet, produced the sublime Hebrew poetry and Arabian science, and which was through many ages in one of its branches, the especial medium fitted by Providence for transmitting the most elevated religious inspiration to mankind, and in which the Divine manifestation of Jesus Christ was made. The Semitic negro can certainly never be considered by the worshippers under Semitic religion, as inferior in blood to themselves.

Still another group of people, both brown and black, many fully black, are descendants of that family which erected the ancient empires on the Euphrates and which, unknown centuries ago, built the pyramid-tombs on the Nile, and founded the gloomy art, the artificial civilization and the science of Egypt. Surely the Hamitic black is not by necessity a being inferior to those races who first learned science of his forefathers. And if it be shown that the readiest way to obtain a change of situation was to publish the fact that he was the boy who had been to Boston."

He never relinquished the purpose of attempting an escape, nor the hope of succeeding in it; and he did all in his power to assist the transfer of him to the positions he judged most favorable for this purpose.

Most of his time since the rendition has been spent at Vicksburg. He married there, and has a child seven or eight years old. He hired his time of his master, and thus had as much freedom of locomotion as slaves ever possess. Three slave friends joined him in forming a plan of escape, and though his wife and child had been removed many miles out of the city, he succeeded in bringing them to the "dug-out" boat that had been provided. The men had arms, and were determined to fight in case of interruption. They were necessarily obliged to pass near a rebel battery, but a cloudy sky enabled them to pass without discovery, and they went through the rebel lines, and reached the pickets of Gen. Grant in safety.

Information such as these fugitives could give was of course very welcome to Gen. Grant, who gave them a paper certifying that fact, and authorizing the passage of the party Northward.

Mr. Sims spoke with ease, and without embarrassment, an hour and three quarters. When he had closed his narrative, Wendell Phillips was introduced to the audience.

Mr. Phillips traced the immense changes that have taken place in Massachusetts of late years, and drew a historical parallel between April 1851 and April 1863. He referred to the large number of persons then assisting or favoring the rendition of Sims, who have now become practical Abolitionists. It was a very striking circumstance that the chair of Bowditch, then Governor of the State, was now filled by a friend of John Brown. In fact the State government, and the State itself, excepting only the city of Boston, had become abolitionized.

Boston, he said, was accountable for the disgrace and guilt connected with the rendition of Thomas Sims, and the retribution for this sin was now pressing upon her. For two years, her best blood has been poured out in requital upon Southern battle-fields, but the atonement is not yet complete.

These races have manifested no want of capacity for commerce or agriculture or government. Some have erected in this century great empires; some are the traders through wide deserts; some have organized governments, opened schools and even accomplished the wonderful feat of inventing a phonetic alphabet.

Many are distinguished for the highest physical strength; and others in force and energy, and even ingenuity, are not behind more favored races.

The great Southerners, or Kaffir family, including so many nations, presents no inferiority in that highest expression of the human soul—Language—but has a tongue which is remarkable for its melody, richness and precision of expression.

It is true that owing to its isolation, caused by the malaria of its coasts, the want of navigable waters and the difficulties of land-transit, the continent of Africa has been almost untouched by the great currents of commerce and by the grand movements of Christianity, so that its races stand at this day lower than those of any part of the globe, except Oceania.

The African peoples—with the exception of the Semitic and Hamitic races—have no literature or history: they are beclouded with the shadow of ignorant minds—the superstitious dread of unseen powers: they are cursed with the vices and wrongs of slavery; and they have not yet produced a man with intellect or moral power sufficient to mould and

lead nations. Yet with all this, they are no longer than probably were many of the Aryan races on their first entrance into Europe; they are to be looked upon as young in the immense period necessary for the historical development of races, and there is nothing to show that they may not yet grow in their own direction to the full stature of the other families of man.

Mohammedanism has already begun in a partial way the improving process, by solidifying separate tribes and spreading the idea of a community of the Christian name; and by the same Apostolic authority do strictly prohibit and interdict that any ecclesiastic or lay person shall presume to defend that very trade in negroes as *lawful under any pretense or studied excuse*, or otherwise to preach, or in any manner, publicly or privately, to teach contrary to those things which we have charged in this, our Apostolic Letter.

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It is to be hoped that Mr. Sims will tell his story, and give further details of slave life and of rebel life, to the many nations of Northern people. If he can so condense the earlier part of the narrative as to allow half an hour for statements respecting Vicksburg, the condition of the rebels there, the influence of that condition upon the position and treatment of slaves, and its influence also upon their feelings in regard to the continuance of the war, it will give additional interest and value to his statement.

C. K. W.

continue unweary in labors for the utter extirpation of slavery from the land, and the removal of all unjust distinctions from the laws and customs of our State and nation.

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C. K. W.

THE FREEDMEN OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

THEIR MORAL CONDITION—RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS—SMALLS, OF THE PLANTER.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

PORTE ROYAL, April 25, 1863.

The questions arising from the unsettled condition of family relations among these South Carolina blacks have been among the most delicate which came up for decision before the constituted authorities. There was, I have been told, no such thing existing as polygamy; no man had, or pretended to have, two wives at the same time; but, in a number of cases, men desired to cast off the "old wives" whom their mistresses